/306 cont./

534
• 522 We saw that the man, upon sounding this instrument, would go backwards until, as a joke, he bumped against the women, who went away amidst laughter.

*192
534 10th. -- Deer head. In Tukano it is called ñamá dõxpõ-á. It consists precisely of the head of a deer, the various orifices having been obturated with breu, except one, on the upper part between the horns, through which one blows. They use this instrument to announce the caxirí, and the sound tries to imitate precisely the words: pêru wá:tya (bring caxirí), which is repeated several times, and ends with the repetition: kero, kero, kero (quickly, quickly, quickly).

11th. -- Ocarina. In Nheengatú toré; in Tukano uxpítu, pl. uxpítu-pá. It is an instrument of baked clay, which resembles the ocarina, and which they blow on the road, when they are going to the dabacurí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2)).

12th. -- Juruparí. In Tukano it is called mĩrĩ (Uaupés mĩhĩ). It is the mysterious instrument. This is tubes of paxiúba covered by the liber of chibarú (epérua grandíflora), rolled up in a spiral, with two sticks that emerge like horns from the upper end and by which it is held to be blown. According to the length, which varies from 80 centimeters to 1.50 meters, and the diameter from 6 to 10 centimeters, the sound will be like that of a trombone or, deeper, like that of a bass.

mĩrĩ (juruparí)

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
261 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as
264 though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say,
[183] excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote
[614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

264 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the
• 522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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261 183 571 431 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 183 571 431 522 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 183 571 431 578 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it, [754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
● 522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks.

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body.

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived.

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits.

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma.

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life.

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and